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~~SECURITY INFORMATION~~

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LECTURES ON THE LEGALIZATION AND LEGENDA OF AGENTS  
GIVEN BY A SOVIET MILITARY INTELLIGENCE  
TRAINING OFFICER IN 1940 OR 1941

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FOREWORD

The following report is the translation of a Soviet document captured by the Germans during World War II. More than most documents of its sort, it provides a valuable insight into the training given to Soviet agents who are slated for work outside the USSR. While some of the remarks made in the document are no longer valid, most of the material concerning agents trained for strategic intelligence operations appears to be as applicable in 1952 as it was when originally written (1940 or early 1941).

The document consists of a series of lectures, apparently drawn together by an operational Soviet Military Intelligence officer concerned with the training of RU agents primarily designated for work in German-occupied Poland and Germany itself. The agents receiving the instruction apparently belonged to what the author has termed the "Operational Intelligence Service," which is undoubtedly the tactical intelligence unit of the Office of Operations of the RU and which at the date of the document was the Seventh Section of the Office of Operations of the RU GSh RKKA.

The author has divided the agent operations carried out by the RU into those of three services--the Strategic Intelligence Service, the Operational Intelligence Service, and the Active Intelligence Service.

By the Strategic Intelligence Service the author presumably means the first three (geographical agentura) sections of the Office of Operations of the RU and Section IV, the Technical Intelligence Section. These sections directed long-term, high-level operations in countries outside the USSR. Agents going out for these sections were far more highly trained than most agents deployed by the so-called Operational Intelligence Service.

The Operational Intelligence Service has previously been identified as the Seventh Section of the Office of Operations of the RU, a section in charge of all Intelligence Sections (ROs) of the Military Districts, Fronts, Armies, and PRPs. Agents of this section were usually sent out on short-term assignments of fairly low-grade caliber.

Nothing further is known concerning the Active Intelligence Service, and unfortunately the author of the document does not appear to be too greatly interested in this activity of Soviet Military Intelligence. From the material here presented, agents of this organ of the Office of Operations would appear to be dispatched during peacetime and activated only in the event of a war. It is probable that such agents are dispatched by Sections I, II, III, IV, or VII, depending upon the type of assignment, but are considered by the author in a special category, in order to emphasize their reserve status.

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In Chapter VII, the author quotes from material prepared by the Third Faculty of the Special School, which he has also termed the Central School. It seems extremely likely that the school in question is the Higher Intelligence School of the RU, located in Moscow on Arbatskaya Ploshchad.

The Special Western Military District mentioned in Chapter IX appears to have had a headquarters of some sort located in Minsk. This district may have superseded the Belo-Russian Military District, which at least up to 1937 had its headquarters in Minsk. It is quite probable that this Special Western Military District was established after the partition of Poland by Germany and the USSR, to include the part of Poland acquired by the USSR.

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THE FORMULATION OF THE LEGENDA AND THE PROCESS OF  
LEGALIZATION OF AGENTS BY SOVIET INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

CHAPTER I

THE GENERAL CONCEPT OF LEGALIZATION AND ITS MEANING IN AGENT WORK

1. The Definition of Legalization and Legenda

Legalization is the sum of a variety of means of camouflaging which enable illegal agents to conceal their real personality and activity in the territory of an enemy country and to adapt themselves to the new niveau while obtaining secret information which is protected by the CE forces of the country. In agent work the legenda is a false curriculum vitae of the agent, into which not only the personal life history under which the agent hides himself is woven but also a description of his whole previous family history, of the factory where he has worked, of his business firm or of his military unit, if in wartime.

2. The Legenda and Legalization of Legal and Illegal Agents in the Strategic Intelligence Service

In the Strategic Intelligence Service the legenda is as a rule much more difficult to formulate than in close-range intelligence, since the agent is usually not dispatched to his place of work across a single frontier but travels by rail, air, or steamer, very often through a third country. This intensifies the difficulties connected with formulating his legenda, arranging for his legalization and making a choice of records to establish his identity. As soon as the agent of Strategic Intelligence enters the means of transport used in a foreign country, he finds himself face to face with agents of the foreign CE service who are planted among the train or steamer personnel and among the customs officials. Therefore the agent must, from the moment of his arrival in the foreign country, be ready for a struggle with the foreign CE services. Above all else the legenda and the basic records and papers of the strategic agent must be in order, so that he is equipped to win this struggle. It is very important that the agent's comportment should be in agreement with his legenda, i. e., his comportment must be adapted to the personality which he represents according to his legenda and papers.

Of great importance in strategic intelligence is the greater necessity for good cover for the agent. For this, actual firms are to be set up at the expense of intelligence offices. Most frequently these cover firms are restaurants, cafes, workshops, etc. Often agents have jobs as watchmen, janitors, furnacemen and the like; in other cases their

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cover is that of an artist, musician etc. Legalization of this type, it may be emphasized, is not at all excluded for the tactical agent service.

It is obvious that the legalization of agents of strategic intelligence demands a more exact preparation and thoroughly thought-out performance. As a rule the training agents of strategic intelligence in legalization will be carried out not only in our territory but also abroad. The above are just some of the principal characteristics of legend and of legalization in the strategic agent service of illegal agents.

LEGAL AGENTS. By the term "Legal Agents of Strategic Intelligence," I understand agents who are active in our official organizations abroad and first of all in the military attache's institutions. It is not necessary naturally to create a cover for this group of agents since it has been created already by the government and in the national legal framework. The duty of the chief who dispatches the official agents is to see to it that this cover which demands no complicated legalization is made use of in such a way that no enemy CE service comes on the idea that this or that official is concerned to any extent with illegal work. In this respect, it should be understood that a proper legend must be set up and discussed most exactly with the agent. Only in this case can the chances of success in surveillance and observation of the legal agent by foreign CE personnel be minimized.

The legenda of the legal agent is often set up formally and without consideration of the special circumstances existing in the foreign country. For example, Comrade X had previously worked in the country to which he was sent, although in another circle and under another name. After a year he is returned to the same country and changes his name. Acquaintances meet him, who know him from his previous stay and they ask him why he has another name. At the best, he can answer he has changed his name because it didn't please him. It is even worse if he answers "I don't know you and I have never seen you before." That is not convincing and he subjects himself to questioning.

Another case: Comrade S is sent to China as a specialist on certain products, but is not well acquainted with the products. When he goes to work, buyers see at once that he is no specialist and they say that Comrade S doesn't know his business but understands politics well. In many cases comrades are sent abroad as chauffeurs. A man who can hardly drive a car and knows nothing about its construction runs the danger of cracking up the car, and is not only not capable of repairing it, but doesn't even know the names of the machine's parts.

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The great meaning of the legenda for legal agents is: that it must be formulated very exactly and studied from all sides, in which event it will expedite the carrying out of the intelligence work. If the legenda is carelessly put together, the work will be hindered and we will be exposed as Soviets agents.

These are by far not all the details in regard to the legenda and legalization of strategic intelligence. It is certainly difficult to draw a border line between the legenda and the legalization of strategic and operational tactical intelligence services, but a certain amount of knowledge on the subject is available and we have not the right not to be acquainted with it.

3. The Legenda and Legalization of Agents of the Operational Agent Intelligence Service

The Operational Agent Intelligence Service carries out all its operations, as a rule, across the border. In addition, it runs a number of categories of agents who are not adapted for strategic agent service. For example, courier agents, border crossers, border advisers, companion agents, and so forth. This circumstance makes a basic difference relative to the work of the Operational Agent Service, and to a certain extent it limits operational tactical work with respect to the choice of the legenda and the type of legalization.

The Legenda: The basis for the choice of the legenda in operational tactical work is a knowledge of the language of the country into which the agent is being sent, the presence of relatives abroad, good contacts, and a knowledge of the area in which the work is to be performed. Certainly it does happen that the agent does not possess a single one of these qualifications and in such a case training in the legenda is extremely tedious. It may last up to a year and the legenda itself must be so chosen that it adapts itself exactly to the assignment given to the agent.

Legalization: Legalization in the operational tactical agent service must always satisfy the following demands:

- a. It must guarantee a good productive intelligence job in agreement with the task given to the agent.
- b. It must provide the agent absolute security and cover for his work.
- c. It must guarantee the normal manner of living which can make reasonable the regular receipt of the means of maintaining the agent.

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d. It has to prevent every possibility of sacrificing knowledge of our methods of operation in case of a loss of an agent.

4. Characteristics of the Legenda and of Legalization in Active Agent Intelligence Service

The Active Intelligence Service has its category of agents concerning which little is known to the members of the Strategic or Operational Intelligence Services, and I do not consider it necessary to say any more about it since an entirely new subject would be entered upon. It may, however, be mentioned that the legenda and legalization in the Active Intelligence Service have their special characteristics. The active agent has to be legalized in such a way that the legenda and the legalization give him the possibility to carry out his basic preparatory work in peacetime and guarantee him the opportunity to do entirely effective work in wartime. The difficulty of legalization in the Active Intelligence Service lies in the fact that in most cases the agent is closely tied to the objects of his assignment.

(NOTE: CHECK ON SOV AGENT IN POLAND IN FACTORY FOR 20 YEARS BEFORE ACTIVATED.)

5. Characteristics of the Legenda and Legalization in Wartime

In setting up a legenda and legalization for an agent in wartime, it must be remembered that he will mainly work for short periods of time, especially in a war movement. It is not excluded that the agent will be sent for a considerable time into the rear of the opponent, but in this case the dispatch of the agent, either illegally by air or by way of a third country will have to be considered. Carrying on contact with residents in the interior of a country across the front line constitutes an exception, and the agents who in peacetime work in such a country must receive orders on how they are to conduct themselves in the event of war.

In respect to legalization of an agent in peacetime, he must be supplied with documents which will help him through a period of war and which will prevent him from being called into military service. It is to be required that the legenda should be thought through, also in consideration of the possibilities of the agent being called into military service. Care must be taken that he may continue letter correspondence with his former place of work and to guarantee that information reaches us from abroad, so that we do not completely lose the agent. In order to guarantee the legenda and legalization in wartime, there must be a sufficient supply of equipment for the duration of the war, especially equipment for agents who are sent across the front line. Large supplies of military and civilian clothing of the probable opponent will be necessary.

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These are, very briefly sketched, certain characteristics of the legenda and legalization during war.

The legenda and legalization form a basis which gives the agent in the capitalist world the right of asylum in the country and which camouflages his activity, but they are in no case an end in themselves. Our agent is sent abroad for the purpose of espionage and that is the main thing and the decisive thing. Legalization must in every respect guarantee and lighten the carrying out of the agent's assignment.

Problems concerned with legalization are heavy additional burdens on the agent and demand of him great effort, talent for organization, perseverance and Marxist foresight. All these qualities were possessed in the highest degree by the old Bolsheviks in the years of the Secret Work, and we must learn from their experience everything concerned with the legenda and legalization, particularly with regard to perseverance and foresight.

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CHAPTER II

CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH INFLUENCE THE LEGENDA AND LEGALIZATION

The legenda and legalization are most dependent on the following conditions:

1. Dependent on the surroundings of the agent in the country in which he is going to be legalized. The history of agent intelligence service knows no case where the legenda was prepared or legalization arranged without taking into account the surroundings of the agent. The characteristics of the legenda and of legalization are directly dependent on how thoroughly the chiefs of the Agent Intelligence Service who train their agents in the legenda, organize the legalization and know the agent surroundings. The chief of that agent service who knows the surroundings which the agent will meet, and who evaluates them correctly, and who draws correct conclusions, will very seldom experience lack of success which can be laid to a faulty legenda or legalization or to other errors in the operational work. In the opposite case, that chief who does not know agent surroundings will often have to investigate a whole series of disappointments in his work.

Unfortunately this important factor is not taken into account by some heads of the agent service in formulating the legenda, and their subordinates are not checked on their knowledge of agent surroundings; from this there may arise a whole series of inadequacies and often very serious mistakes which will lead to the failure of the agent.

2. The geographical circumstances of the country into which the agent is to be sent also have an influence on the formulation of the legenda. This is more true in regard to the Operational-Tactical Agent Service than to the Strategic. In crossing the border within the border zone, the agent must have particularly good command of that part of his legenda in which the reasons for his being in the border zone are explained, especially in case he is picked up by the police or the CE services. It is very difficult to explain this part of the legenda comprehensively, especially too little attention is paid to it in training the agent. To avoid this, a route is chosen which from the geographic point of view permits the agent to go illegally to his area almost without danger. In middle Asia, in Trans-Caucasia, and in the Trans-Baikal Military Districts, this question is particularly urgent, since the towns there are a considerable distance from the border and the agents en route to the border can always be surprised. In every single case, the agent must be able to explain the reason for his being between the town and the border. On the basis of the above, the geographic factor forces us to invent two legenda: one simply for crossing the border zone, the other for use after crossing the zone.

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Example: In 1939 there were a large number of settlers along the Polish border who often stopped our agents in the border zone. In addition, the Poles used to send out reconnaissance units, and, therefore, we were often forced to add to the principal legenda, a second one to cover the case when an agent might have bad luck directly at the border. In the principal legenda the agent was represented as a representative of a certain firm, but, if he was picked up at the border, he was to claim to be unemployed and to represent himself not as coming from the Soviet Union but as going from Poland to the USSR looking for work. Under these circumstances, the agent would get a small sentence up to a year. If the foreign CE determined, however, that he came from the USSR, then he would be tortured and, as a rule, killed. In Middle Asia the agent's being in the border zone is frequently explained by his supposedly having to search for a horse or a donkey, or a camel, since the camels generally are not tied up and often stray a great distance.

To avoid formulating a second legenda, we have recently been carrying out dispatch through areas which are heavily wooded and where the border zone can be crossed secretly.

3. The social and economic structure of a country is to be considered in the formulation of the legenda and the legalization. The degree of economic development of the country and the situation of the working class and of the intelligentsia are of great importance and determine primarily the choice of the legenda and the cover for the agent. In one country we can legendize the agent as a qualified worker, a technician, an engineer, or even as a representative of an industrial firm. In another country this is impossible, since there may be no industry. In the Near, Middle, and generally also in the Far East, we can always legendize the agent as a merchant or apprentice to a merchant and create a cover for him in a business.

4. The national and class composition of the population of the country. This question has in the East as well as in the West, a decisive importance. It is difficult for example, except for America and England where a Jew can easily be legalized, to legalize a Jew, especially in Germany or the Generale Gouvernement. It also would be purposeless in the East to send an Uzbek into Turkistan, a Russian to India, a Tadzhik to China, etc. Thus it is clear what great importance consideration of the national factor has in forming the legenda and the legalization.

Where industry is well developed, there is a sufficient laboring class as well as working intelligentsia. In these areas a legenda for our agent is much easier to prepare, and it is relatively easy to create a legalization for our man. The circumstance of industrial development also makes the development of our work much easier, since in such cities and industrial centers the majority of the people sympathize with the USSR, love the Soviet Union, and at a difficult hour they will help our man.

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In addition, this milieu is familiar to our agent and he finds himself better off in the industrial environment than in any other foreign niveau. In the East, interrelations play a great role, and thus in the formulation of the legenda the extraction and the race must be considered. It must be noted that an agent should not be legendized in a clan which is at war with another clan in that area.

Since the occupation of Poland by the Germans, no Pole will betray another Pole, or, that is, very seldom, to the Germans; a Jew will not betray another Jew; these are a few details on the national class characteristics of a population which have an effect on the legenda and legalization.

5. Interior and Exterior Situation of the Country. The exterior and interior situation of a country must be considered in the formulation and choice of a legenda and in arranging for the legalization. The interior situation in countries in which fascism is in power affects the legend to the extent that the agent must never have had any period of work in the Soviet Union, nor residence in that country, and especially no connection with the Communist Party, the Komsomol, or with any organizations and parties which the fascist regime is fighting. Attention must be paid to all exceptional laws effective in the fascist countries. The eventual calling to military service must be considered.

In the formulation of the legenda and legalization of the agent we must search out in advance all such un hoped-for traps into which the agent could fall. For example, in 1939 one of our agents in Poland received the order to enter military service. On receipt of this order, instead of carrying it out, he fled to us to get advice. In the meantime, the period permitted him to report had elapsed, and he was declared a deserter.

6. Legal Position of Foreigners in a Country. This factor effects the choice and formulation of the legenda and the legalization of the agent. In a country in which foreigners have the right to carry on any activity they like, it is easier to legitimize an agent, but this is very seldom the case. Usually, in every country there is a whole series of limitations on foreigners, especially in countries which are not bound to each other by treaties of friendship. This factor therefore must be considered and not forgotten in the choice of the legenda and in establishing the legalization.

7. The Legal Code of a Country in Relation to Visits and Registration with the Police in a Country. The legal code of a country in relation to the stay and registration with the police is of course one of the main things that must be considered in formulating the legenda and the plan of legalization for our agent. Every member of Operational Intelligence

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Service must study thoroughly all the laws of all countries in relation to the stay and registration with the police and must follow every change. Only agents who are thoroughly familiar with the whole registration procedure are to be chosen.

The agent must not forget that abroad all the servants of hotels, pensions, and private homes are in the service of the police or the CE Service, and it is, therefore, desirable as far as possible not to use a hotel but to stay with acquaintances, relatives, or even in houses in which rooms are not officially rented.

If the agent is forced to spend a few days in a hotel, he must know exactly the conditions of registration and regarding his stay in that hotel. He must act in the hotel as confidently as other guests and must attempt not to stand out in any way from the other guests.

For example, due to lack of knowledge of the regulations for registration in Poland, 60% of our agents failed in the years 1938 and 1939 because they were picked up in hotels. Agents must likewise be thoroughly familiar with the regulations for travel, as well as how to get around in a city and to live openly.

The agent must know up to what time in the evening movement about the city is allowed, and he must know the closing hours of business firms, cafes, restaurants, etc.

Due to lack of knowledge in these fields, one of our official collaborators went to eat in a restaurant in Lublin in 1940 and was picked up there by a policeman. He could not make himself understood to the policeman in German, and as a result of his speaking shortly to the policeman, he was hit in the face. It was only good that the policeman did not take him for a Pole, or he could have taken him for a Jew and shot him. After we had explained to the policeman that it was a question of an official representative of the Soviet Union, he left his job and fled we don't know where. From the examples and facts stated, we must draw the conclusion that the agent as well as his teacher must have a command of the laws of a country. This helps the agent to legalize himself without hinderance and carry out the assignment given him.

8. Criminal Code. In the difficult moments of an unavoidable failure, the agent can frequently change his legenda as necessary, especially if he has crossed the border with a false passport and is picked up by the criminal police. In this case, the agent could pretend to be a criminal, preferably a thief, or for an illegal political. In such a case, he must know the laws of the country in regard to his crime very well. He must know exactly for what criminal deed the minimum penalty is

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applied to. Successful change of his legend of this type can save the agent numerous troubles and bring about a smaller penalty than for espionage. The criminal penalty will also make it easier for us to help him in case he is sentenced. For this type of legend the agent must at least know a few people in the underworld and have a certain command of underworld jargon. Such a legend serves the agent well who has gotten his documents by theft, and it also serves that agent well who was picked up while in the act of stealing documents from safes, pocketbooks, suitcases, or the like. In such cases such a legend is the only way out of the situation.

For example: In 1939 we dispatched an agent to Poland to procure documents; this agent was not sufficiently trained. When he was picked up, he was not able to legendize himself as a thief, even though he was actually a thief whom we had fetched out of the Minsk jail. However, he was not acquainted with the regulations and working methods of the Polish criminal police. As a result he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment as a Soviet agent and was tortured for about three weeks. Another agent of ours, a Lithuanian, legendized himself very well as a smuggler, and when he messed up the operation he only had to spend about three months in jail and then was set free, since he was able to give the names of a number of known smugglers. He also knew all the laws in regard to unimportant smuggling offenses and was sure that he would not get more than a three months' sentence.

In the first case, the head of the dispatching office had not trained his agent sufficiently in the legend which led to 10 years' forced labor; and, in the second case, the head of the dispatching office and the agent had chosen the legend correctly, the agent had carried it out with common sense and energetically, and as a result he only got a three months' sentence.

From the above it is clear that the legalization is nothing else than the adapting of the agent to the requirements of the agent's surroundings of the country in question.

9. Personal Qualifications of the Person To Be Legalized:

- a. Loyalty to the Lenin/Stalin Party and to the Socialist Homeland.
- b. Good general capability and a Marxist-Leninist training.
- c. Control of the language of the country into which he is to be sent.
- d. Appropriate nationality under which the agent can be legalized in the country.

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e. The ability to move at any level of society. Our agent must be able to play various roles like a good actor.

f. The ability to adapt himself to the ways of the country to which he is going. For example, he must know in detail how the various classes in that country clothe themselves, and he must dress according to the person he is legitimized as. I do not mean by this just wearing clean clothes, but perhaps even careless dress as may be the case among the grouping which he is legitimized.

g. Thorough knowledge of the business or profession given in his passport. If he claims to be an artist then he must command the theory as well as the practice in this field.

h. The age under which he is to be legitimized must be considered. The difference between the age given in the passport and his actual age must never be more than two to six years and, at worst, ten.

i. The agent may not have any weakness for liquor, women, or any type of gambling. He must, however, be thoroughly au courant in these fields if it is required by his assignment.

To the above-mentioned personal qualities one can add a whole series of requirements to the agent, but they are not decisive for the legalization.

If the laws forbid in a number countries the carrying out of the medical profession, our agent will not be helped by actually being a doctor. In another case it is not a good idea, for example during the war between England and Germany, to send an agent, even though he is born a German, to England, British possessions, or to countries with which England is on friendly terms, as Iran or Afghanistan.

From the above we can conclude:

a. The questions of legend and legalization demand general consideration of all the conditions of the agent's surroundings, as well as precise individual instructions. As in all branches of agent intelligence, it is true also in regard to the legend and legalization that the patterns and the already well-known forms and methods cannot be used and are dangerous.

b. The methods and the type of legalization must be rapid and if required must be capable of being changed entirely dependent


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upon the conditions which may change in the surroundings of the agent. Often the conditions of the agent's surroundings recommend an immediate change in the cover arranged for, as for example, new tax laws, and laws concerning sale of goods to firms especially abroad which might cause one type of legalization to be dropped and might demand a change to another type.

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### CHAPTER III

#### GUARANTEEING THE LEGEND AND LEGALIZATION BY DOCUMENTS

1. Importance of Proper Documentation. Our agent will be beyond suspicion if he can prove his person by documents and can prove that he has that occupation which is declared in the document in his possession.
2. Discussion of Types of False Passports. The "Steifelpass" (unknown expression) is in most cases the principal document for men as well as for women. Often the birth certificate is sufficient for women. There are genuine passports, that is, they are handed out in the country and registered with the police, or on the other hand the pass may be genuine but it belongs to someone else. From such a pass the photograph of the real owner is taken off and replaced by the photo of our agent. This type of pass is called the "iron pass" but those passes which are put out by intelligence organs are called "lindens" or "linden passes" (false passes).

The possessor of the passport must learn his legend by heart and must have a thorough command of the language of the country of the passport or in another foreign country. He must be ready at every moment to answer any type of autobiographic question or state any of the material in any section of the passport.

If one of our agents uses such a passport where the photo has been changed, it is necessary to coordinate the legend as exactly as possible with the actual life history of the former owner of the passport if the passport does not contain anything compromising.

In the case of the linden pass, the agent's chief must formulate the legend together with him. He must consider the agent's surroundings as well as the personal qualifications of the agent. Every legend must, as far as possible, be simple and natural, and must reproduce truthfully past events.

In some countries an under-age young girl goes under the father's passport and after her marriage is carried in her husband's passport. Thus, she frequently has no pass of her own, especially with poor people, since the expenses are considerable. It follows that the birth certificate may serve as the principal documentation for a young girl or a woman. Preparation of a birth certificate is simpler than that of a passport, and the principal of the formulation of the legenda is the same as with a passport, be it an iron passport or a linden passport.

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In our district the Polish passport "dowod osobisty" serves as the principal documentation. On the document the Germans have made a few explanatory additions, but only on the passport in Lublin. The inhabitants of the city of Pultusk have received the German passport, the "Kennkarte."

3. Subsidiary Documents.

- a. These are a series of documents which support the profession and situation of the agent, such as diplomas; business correspondence; lists of the prices of commodities or goods; scientific publications, notebooks; letters from various firms, from individuals, and simply from acquaintances.
- b. Documents which prove the agent's former place of residence and his financial position, various receipts from hotels and inns in which he is supposed to have stayed.
- c. Military documents, documents regarding schooling, recommendations, etc.
- d. Among the supplementary documents currently in use in our district are:
  - (1) Registration forms without which the stay is not possible.
  - (2) Blank forms for police control of the civil population.
  - (3) Certificates from the company in which the agent is legalized.
  - (4) Pay receipts.
  - (5) Food ration cards.
  - (6) Travel permission across the border from Poland to East Prussia.
- e. There are numerous other documents, but the chief must not forget that he cannot equip the agent always with all documents since this would not be realistic. It seldom happens that a person will carry with him all the papers needed to cover every conceivable circumstance. Thus an agent who can show a whole package of documents may waken more suspicion than an agent who may lack several documents.

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If the legend demands that the agent should have a whole series of documents, he should be forbidden to carry them all with him but should leave those that should not be carried on him in a suitcase at home or elsewhere.

This type of material and documents are needed to guarantee the journey and the development of legal practical work, that is, to procure visas, to get travel documents, and to get jobs. They are principally used in strategic intelligence.

For example: In 1936 a group of comrades were dispatched to work in one of the Eastern countries. The group consisted of women. One of them had to play the part of a fine lady and another the part of her maid. Both went to a foreign consul to get visas but did not possess enough subsidiary documentation for which the consul was interested and they did not act as they should have. The maid acted in a manner that was not customary in the country to which they wanted to go. All of this made the consul suspicious. He gave them the visas, indeed, but he informed the police, and they were picked up on the border. Such is the meaning of subsidiary documents and their relation to the legends.

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#### CHAPTER IV

#### PLANNING THE LEGALIZATION

In the general plan of intelligence activities for our legal collaborators a point in regard to legalization should be considered in advance or better, the plan for our agents should begin with these points:

1. The possibilities of putting the legend and the legalization under a different cover, especially in wartime.

2. Possibilities of equipping with principal and subsidiary documents and consideration of the time necessary for their preparation. As to these points in the general plan, the following must be considered in advance.

3. Checking the knowledge of the agent surroundings and of the legend, as well as taking into account the necessary time for completing the study of this question.




4. Planning for the Financing of the Agent. Testing and preparing the funds for the legalization under consideration of the most recent information concerning the agent's surroundings. In the capitalist world money plays a decisive role. As a result a thoroughly thought-out plan as well as the personal qualifications of the agent can in legalization questions set up a good cover with a minimum of expense. It must not be forgotten that the money can do damage if it is used awkwardly and will harm in this case instead of help.

5. The time necessary for study of the questions which have to do with equipping and preparing for departure and the things necessarily taken by the agent.

For every question sufficient time is to be arranged for, and this time will depend on the personal qualifications of the agent. The higher his qualifications--knowledge of language, good general training, love for the business--the shorter the time for carrying the plan into action.

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## CHAPTER V

### POSSIBLE VARIETIES OF COVER

This chapter has basically also great importance and depends more than any other chapter on the agent's surroundings which require certain conditions in the choice of one or another variety of cover.

Only a thorough devotion to intelligence and an excellent knowledge of agent surroundings will permit correct choice of a cover and make clear to the agent how he must see in advance necessary changes and react to them.

In the history of agent intelligence service, there are thousands of different types of legends and legalizations. I have mentioned some, but every day and every hour we can and must discover new varieties which appear as a result of a change of situation in any country.

In writing this chapter I have used as the only source which has helped me at all, but which by far has not satisfied me, material from the Third Faculty of the Special School. I present this material in its entirety without any changes.

#### "Types of Legalization in Strategic Agent Intelligence Service"

"People from our homeland who were never abroad only know the conditions of our Soviet life. Whatever special legalization form the agent may choose, as protection or occupation abroad, he will be continually forced to take much into consideration and to learn much. If, for example, our agent practices on the side the profession of a doctor, and if he has a possibility to start a practice in the country where he is going, that does not mean that he is legalized. First he must study the doctors of the country in question as well as the laws which govern the medical profession, their movements, the way they handle their work, and their circle of patients. Only when our agent has learned all this and made it his own so that he can chase after good paying patients and he can expect from pharmacists the same percentage as other doctors do--in short when he can practice medically like the other doctors, only then does he have in his profession as doctor a cover for his intelligence work. This statement of the case is likewise good for any other profession or occupation.

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"A successful legalization can only come about by an actual, active and successful (in the capitalistic sense) activity in the chosen professional field.

"There are a number of professions and activities which our agents can take as legalization. They can be divided into four groups:

"1. Legalization as an expert, employee or laborer. These occupations are hardly acceptable in consideration of the unemployment which exists in the whole capitalist world and the laws which have come to pass as a result, which laws forbid the employment of foreigners. The occupation of a laborer or employee is seldom justified as cover for a resident since he must often go out in society and must have freedom of movement for his trips and enough time for his intelligence work. Unsatisfactory for this purpose is the position of the middle-grade engineer since these are ill-paid in the capitalist world, have only a limited period of work, and generally are closely watched. Legalization as an employee or a mechanic in radio shops or machine shops is often an ideal cover for a radio operator and activity as a representative of a company is generally the best cover for a courier. These types of occupations are only to be considered as real cover if our radio operator who works as a mechanic in a machine shop or our courier representative have the same opportunities outside of their occupation as ordinary mechanics or representatives in the city under consideration and may live in the same circumstances as these.

"2. Legalization as a student: It is recommended for many of our collaborators of a certain age and for those who neither handle the language in which the pass is set up or that of the country. This legalization depends upon the presence of colleges in which the foreign students may study as well as on the entrance conditions for foreigners and the type of life of the foreign student body. Our collaborators are often forced to forego this very comfortable and cheap cover because of obligatory part-taking of foreigners in local student groups and also by the special relationship of local authorities vis à vis foreign students.

"3. Legalization in the business and economic life is for a responsible collaborator of our residencies generally very good cover since it usually permits freedom of movement and a choice of a niveau, even to possession of one's own car. At the same time this type of cover makes very considerable

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demands on our collaborators. They must learn to be capable business personnel and be able to handle all business expressions as well as business correspondence. It is also to the point for our collaborators to own an independent business but in some cases it is preferable for them to enter an already existing local firm. One must consider that the existing personnel in the firm will be curious about him.

"With this type of cover there is usually the danger of developing much too much. Such agents as use business cover must take care to note that they are after all only business people with rather average capabilities and that even experienced capitalist business people go bankrupt during the frequent economic crises in capitalistic countries. With such covers our people must be very restrained, especially if they are members of the firm used as cover. It is not necessary to take over the representation of an automobile firm which demands enormous means if one can attain the same purpose, a good legalization, with smaller means, for example with the cover of a salesman whose job is the sale of used cars.

"4. Legalization in the form of the so-called "free professions" like doctors, teachers, journalists, artists, and scientists are the best for our collaborators since they do not require a regular attendance at the place of work. They do not demand any special means and one can get along in them without servants. These professions evoke the greatest suspicion, however, if they are practiced by foreigners who have no world reputation."

From the above-cited material it can be seen that in the former Central School which trains rather important agents there is a certain underrating of all the possibilities, variations, and types of legalizations.

If one observes the four groups of possible forms of legalization which are given by the school as sample examples, then one sees that the first, second, and fourth groups are based entirely upon the premise that our agents must be legalized as foreigners. It is not clear to me why they send someone to Germany legalized as a Dutchman, Swede, or Frenchman instead of sending a German to Germany with a legenda. Are there fewer possibilities in such a case?

In my opinion it is only done for the reason that we go on the basis of what legalization is easier but not what is better. It seems to me that it would be a good idea to add a fifth group to these four and that should be a military group. Any intelligence service, the Strategic as

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well as the Operational-Tactical, must control agents from troops or from the military authorities, for without them we are not in a position to realize our principal objects intelligently and exactly, and we are setting up then not a military intelligence service but a general one.

Into the fifth group we can recruit officers sympathizing with us; NCOs; accountants; camp commanders, especially of technical troops; engineers; and ordnance experts. How are people in this group to be legalized? There are two ways:

- a. Dispatch of our agents of military duty age who would be suited for service in any troop unit and would be themselves legalized there. For this purpose it would be desirable to have a rather large staff which is in possession of valuable information and is less flexible. These tasks will be made easier through the fact that a number of young people of this or that country live abroad and that the possibility certainly exists of recruiting them before they do their army service and give them their assignment to enter army service. This is a very complicated but nevertheless a very valuable assignment.
- b. The second way is the recruitment of agents within the enemy army and the transfer of the agent into the area in which we have an interest and into the troop unit which is important to us. One might answer me that this is very difficult. Certainly, but it is possible and necessary; otherwise, we will obtain no valuable military information. Moreover we can certainly maintain that recruitment in the German Army at the present time is more possible than ever since there are many non-Germans, particularly Czechs--officers, NCOs, and soldiers--in the German Army. There is in Germany a great dissatisfaction with the form of government and with the war. All these things make easier penetration into the Army and, as a result, offer us the possibility of legalizing our agents there.

#### DETAILS CONCERNING TYPES OF LEGALIZATION IN THE AGENT INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

1. For the Operational Intelligence Service, all five above-mentioned types of legalization can be used, only with the difference that legalization of illegal agents of this Service absolutely cannot include agents legalized as foreigners, but only as residents of the country to which they are sent. For example--to Germany, sent as a German or as a member of a people which lives on the same basis as the Germans and according to the same regulations.

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The dispatch of an agent as a foreigner is only desirable in the case when the secret agent must travel through a third country or it seems advantageous to legalize him as a foreigner from a country which is on friendly relations with Germany.

2. A category such as traveling agent is frequently hidden under the legend of smugglers or contrabandists or visitors with relatives or deserters. This often gives them the possibility of getting across the border from the USSR to a foreign country.

But in connection with the fact that in our territory both German intelligence and counterintelligence are at work, we are forced to legendize and legalize the agent in our area. For example, we help a contact man who frequently leaves the village or the locality to obtain a position with some agent in our economic structure, and this gives the agent the possibility of leaving the village on several days a month without raising suspicion among the inhabitants of the village.

3. In the East the traveling agent and the contact man can legendize themselves as wandering beggars, "dervishes," whereby travel in the whole country is often made easier for them. For this purpose however, a serious training is necessary as well as unusual clothing.

4. Female recruiting agents are often legendized as prostitutes which is a very difficult role to play, especially for a decent woman.

5. The easiest type of legalization to obtain information on defense establishments is as a laborer, mason, mechanic, cement worker, heavy laborer, technician, draftsman, etc.

6. Legalization along streams, along the borders, as a fisherman is excellent for a contact man who has a job of supplying us with information at a certain time or even comes across to us in the early morning.

These are of course not all of the details in regard to the legend and legalization in the Operational Intelligence Service.

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## CHAPTER VI

### PREPARATION FOR THE DEPARTURE AND TRAVEL TO THE PLACE OF ASSIGNMENT IN THE STRATEGIC AGENT INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

1. The most important assignment of the agent at the time of preparation for departure to the place of assignment is the thorough study of the agent surroundings not only of the country of assignment but also of the whole route. Such questions must be covered as:

How may the country of assignment best be reached?

How can one settle there under a foreign passport, foreign name, and a foreign curriculum vitae and thus wipe all traces of his arrival from the country of the Soviets?

2. During preparation for departure our agent must spend a great deal of time learning by heart the passport legenda or a number of passport legenda depending on whether he needs a transit passport for the first part of the journey. He must learn how to fill our various types of questionnaires rapidly; how to answer questions and other formalities during the journey, such as at border posts, customs offices, travel bureaus, hotels, visa applications, on steamer trips, etc.

3. He must make himself familiar with all the supplementary documents and check exactly his equipment and his baggage. Any carelessness in connection with his equipment and his baggage can have disastrous results.

All his things and all his clothing must be adapted to the situation, the occupation, the origin, the age, the character, and purpose of the trip which are arranged for in the legenda.

4. During the journey to the place of assignment, the conduct of the illegal agent must be in accordance with the following:

a. Do not stand out from the mass of people; do not appear to be an unsociable person; do not shy away from association and conversation with others, but in such associations do not pretend to any extravagant activity; be polite but not overconversational and pay more attention to listening than to talking.

b. In conversation, talk generally. Avoid conversations which are related to personal life. In case it is necessary to talk personalities, stick to the passport legenda and invent the necessary details without making up complicated fantastic stories.

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c. As far as the political opinion is concerned, if it can't be avoided, the best is a camouflage as a bourgeois democrat with moderate political views. In questions concerning the agent's attitude towards the USSR it is better that he express himself in an restrained way.

d. The general rules of bourgeois fashion are to be followed: manners, table manners, readiness to help women, etc.

e. The problem of the luggage is to be considered especially thoroughly, especially the heavy baggage which will travel separately from the agent, and which must have various stamps and tags from express offices, steamer companies, and railroad stations.

5. The transit passport is usually used for the journey from the USSR to any third country. Replacement of the transit passport by a permanent one as well as the complete destruction of all of the supplementary documents belonging with the transit pass and the equipment no longer needed after its use compose the dangerous moment in the journey which requires special forethought and perfect execution.

6. The stay in the third country offers the agent the possibility of supplying himself with verifying documentation, with travel checks which alone offer a solid legality, with the most supplementary documents and the various types of equipment which will be in accord with the legend of the new passport under which he travels to the country of his assignment.

7. In addition to these legal border crossings by rail or steamer, illegal crossings through mountains or woods are especially common particularly during war. During these illegal crossings, the agent follows the directions of his border passer and following the instructions given to him turns himself in to the "PRP" from which point on he uses his own documents and legalizes himself for the continuation of his trip.

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## CHAPTER VII





### DETAILS ON THE PREPARATION OF BORDER CROSSING IN RESPECT TO THE OPERATIONAL AGENT INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

The preparation for the journey of the Strategic Intelligence Service agent and the dispatch of the agent across the border to his place of work in the Operational Intelligence Service are similar if the agent does not cross the border illegally but does so legally. One thing in common is that in both cases all documents and things of Soviet origin are taken from the agent. The whole training in crossing the border will consist of the following:

1. Checking the knowledge of the legenda and the components of the legalization.
2. Checking the knowledge of the principal as well as the supplementary documents.
3. Travel to the border prior to commitment so that the agent may become acquainted with his route and may check it on the spot; likewise, checking of the second legenda for use in case he is picked up on the border.
4. Checking the equipment, both types--equipment with which he crosses the border and equipment with which he will continue his journey legally.
5. Checking the things that are characteristic of and complete the main and supplementary documents as well as the legenda; for example, if the agent is legalized as a smuggler he must possess those goods which are generally smuggled by smugglers.
6. If the border crossing is by water, an arrangement for boats is required, particularly boats used by smugglers.
7. Final examination and training in all questions of agent surroundings, especially in all travel regulations for all types of travel within the scope of the legenda.
8. Checking the correctness of the legend in respect to the family and the documents which legitimize the agent. These are principally the letters, notes, and postcards prepared by the agent.

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## CHAPTER VIII

### FORMULATION OF THE PERMANENT LEGALIZATION IN STRATEGIC AGENT INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

1. After our agent has reached the city of his permanent place of work, he is forced at first to stay in a hotel, though preferably a pension which has been determined in advance and thoroughly studied. He must consider here that his every step is observed. It is recommended that he have lying around on his table newspapers and harmless books in the language of the country given in his passport. It is useful to have tickets for theaters, movies, or museums lying around, especially if he has to leave the hotel--they serve as an alibi for the time he has spent away from the hotel. The agent must not give any more or less in tips than other guests. It is important to try to win the hotel office personnel or his landlady by his behavior, since the police make their first investigations in the hotel or pension.
2. The length of the stay in the hotel is to be made as short as possible. For a lengthy stay in a city the agent must not only find an apartment or a suitable pension, but at the same must also arrange his financial details by opening an account in a solid bank or by renting a deposit box. For this he usually needs recommendations from persons known at the bank. These can best be invented among doctors, representatives of automobile firms, etc. In such cases it is not allowed to give false addresses for those people.
3. In order to make business contacts towards setting up a cover or even obtaining an apartment, the agent may put an ad in newspapers, although with the greatest care. He can also answer ads from the paper but this is not recommended. The first method has the advantage that the agent can study the answers with the help of an address book in his own good time.
4. Any commercial or industrial cover must be attested by a reliable lawyer; otherwise it could happen that our agent who is inexperienced in business affairs might have to expiate the old sins of former members of the firm.
5. In case our illegal agent is legendized as a foreigner he must learn everything about local laws under which a foreigner must register his company as well as his passport in his embassy. Whether this registration has to be done or not, it should be decided in each special individual case with the advice of the Center. This will depend on the nature of the passport and for what country it is made out, as well as to what extent the agent is capable of speaking the language of the country identified with the passport.

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6. The most important basis for making the legalization solid is the actual active activity along the lines of the chosen occupation or profession. Neglect of this leads unavoidably to failure. A student must actually learn and study; a businessman must actually be engaged in business and make a profit which must be determinable exactly; a doctor must receive patients, etc.

7. The furnishing of supplies to the illegal agent and his manner of living must be in accordance with the character of the occupation which legalizes him. The providing of supplies by illegal means is frequently the starting point for discovery of illegal agents by the CE service of the enemy.

8. Legalization is made firm by keeping up contacts with the country given in the passport along the line of the basic facts of the passport legenda; getting letters and telegrams from the homeland, transfer of money from the parents to the students is absolutely a necessity.

9. The providing of money to the illegal agent by the Center must be carried on in close agreement with the character and details of the legalization so that receipt of the money will not evoke any suspicion on the part of the CE service.

10. Each cover can serve simply for one person alone, for whom it is set up as legalization. In no case and under no circumstances may the cover serve as the center of a residency office or as legalization for several agents. This cover must not be known to other members of the agent net.

11. The transfer of a legalized existing business belonging to an agent of the intelligence service who is leaving the country to a newly arrived agent, even if all the official formalities of the transfer are carried through successfully, is forbidden. The practical sense of such a transfer as a rapid and easy legalization of the newly arrived agent, and at the same time the obtaining of means which are part and parcel of the business have proven themselves to be deceiving. In actuality the whole business runs a danger of being discovered through the smallest mistake in the formal transfer. In the process of transferring the firm to the new agent, all of the contacts of an overt and covert nature of the former agent cannot be transferred, and there is always the danger that the new agent can be blown by people who were in contact with the former agent and knew him as the owner of the business.

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CHAPTER IX

FORMULATION OF THE PERMANENT LEGALIZATION IN THE  
OPERATIONAL AGENT INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

1. Methods of formulation of a permanent legalization in the Strategic Intelligence Service can be used partially also in the Operational Agent Service.
2. The formulation of the legalization within the Special Western Military District is made easier through the fact that the basis of the agent service is put together from the population of former Poland. These are people who know the situation abroad well and who have wide contacts. This circumstance makes very much easier the organization of the legalization abroad.
3. Our agents who have arrived abroad are strictly forbidden to stay in inns since the agent who has been legendized as the native of a village possesses the possibility of staying in private homes with reliable friends.
4. Formulation of the legalization of a W/T operator is usually carried out after careful training in legalization by the resident under whom he will work. In general the resident will register the W/T operator where possible in advance with the police and will arrange a room for him.
5. In most cases we dispatch our Soviet W/T operator to a solid resident of the village for whom (i.e., operator) the resident has generally arranged a job and whom he aids in forming the legalization as solidly as possible.
6. Our agents in the great majority are legendized as owners of restaurants, cafes, as doctors, employees, laborers, barbers, and some simply as unemployed. As far as the last name is concerned, it is no longer of value in German-controlled areas as the German authorities in this case pick up our people and send them to forced labor in the interior of Germany. It is possible sometimes to set up a contact with a few of such agents and even to continue to work, but generally contact with them is very difficult and is very seldom carried out.
7. The organization of the legalization as smuggler demands that the agent actually brings from us some goods and gets rid of them abroad. That permits him in his legend, in case he is in trouble, to give the name of the buyers to whom he has sold his goods.

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8. Legalization in form of small commercial firms has been made very difficult temporarily through the recently set-up card system in Germany and the protected territories. In some firms we have had considerable loss and we have difficulty in operating profitably in any case. This weakens the legalization.

9. A woman is relatively easy to legalize. She makes her situation pretty solid in the beginning since she can legendize herself as the wife or sister of our agent. In such a case the relations between them must be such as to make the legend solid and not blow it. For example, an accompanying agent brought a female W/T operator to her place of work and legendized her as his wife. When they went to bed the girl didn't want to sleep with her "husband" which made the innkeeper suspicious. The accompanying agent felt himself insulted. (He was also contact man and resident.) He considered the whole matter quickly and invented on the spot the legend that his wife had thrown him over for another man and for this reason did not want to sleep with him.

10. If an agent is dispatched with a legend which claims that he fled the Soviet Union in fear of his life, then he must be supplied with Soviet money, things of Soviet manufacture, and a whole supply of documents which support the legend; otherwise it will be difficult for him to get along. Numerous examples could be given which show how to make the legalization easier or which make it more difficult to establish, but there is no need since every day brings us valuable suggestions in regard to the formulation of the legend and the legalization. In closing I might say that only a thorough knowledge of agent surroundings and the practical experience in operational work always lead to the right choice of a legend and correct legalization.

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## CHAPTER X

### FORMULATION OF THE LEGALIZATION IN WAR

1. The formulation of the legalization in war will be the same fundamentally in areas which lie more towards the interior of the country. However, on the front line the agent must be parachuted into a city which is being evacuated--this makes much easier for him his legalization as a refugee and he can get on a train traveling in the direction of his route, or he can travel with a group going in his direction. In this case he must possess documents proving that he is a resident of the evacuated area, and he must know this area or city. His further legalization is that of a refugee.

2. A further possibility is the dispatch by airplane of an agent to an area, or a city in the interior of the country, which is well known to him. This dispatch must take place at night so that the agent can appear at his place of work early in the morning and mingle with the morning rush of the city population. Later, during the day, he can find a place to live. In a case like this it is desirable that the agent should not be of military age or else that he should have documentation which frees him from military service.

3. In order to obtain information on a particular object an agent can be parachuted from an airplane at any point desired in enemy territory. But it must not be forgotten that a legalization of such an agent may not be possible and he will have to live illegally. In such a case, the agent will have to be equipped with a radio for contact with us.

4. The dispatch of the agent across the front lines will not be seldom, especially in a war of movement, but legalization of such agents is very difficult. In order to carry out these operations, it is necessary to have ready, even in peacetime, a sufficient supply of military equipment of the probable opponent. In addition, for this purpose the operational staff officers must use PWs to the greatest degree possible and must recruit them and dispatch them to their units. This must be done quickly.

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